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THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC

THE EDITORS

ALBANIA— EYEWITNESS REPORT

SCOTT NEARING

A New Ruling Class?

JIM MASON

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

With this issue MR begins its 20th year of publication. For a radical periodical in the United States this is relative old age. If nevertheless the magazine is in good health and has a greater life expectancy than it would have seemed reasonable to ascribe to it at birth, the credit must go to our readers who have been remarkably loyal both as subscribers and financial contributors. We take the occasion to thank you and to ask for your continued support as we try to make MR more useful to the radical movement in the long crisis period we are now entering.

(Continued on inside back cover)

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THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC

More than two years ago we predicted in this space that "the number one casualty of the Vietnamese war is going to be Lyndon B. Johnson." (MR, March 1966, p. 10). This has now been confirmed, sooner than we expected, by none other than Mr. Johnson himself. With his Gallup poll rating at its lowest point since he became President, unable (in the words of James Reston) to "venture openly into any of the great cities of the United States without the risk of serious demonstrations against him," having (according to Evans and Novak) "reached a nadir of popular support unprecedented for White House incumbents in this century," Lyndon B. Johnson decided to call it quits before he could be further humiliated by his own Party or by the electorate.

At first it seemed that the March 31st speech, coupling announcement of a partial bombing halt with the statement of withdrawal from the presidential race, might be a typical piece of Johnson trickery. Since Hanoi had repeatedly said that it would not enter any talks until *all* bombing of North Vietnam had been stopped, it appeared that Johnson was setting up a situation in which he could (1) claim that his peace overtures had been rejected, (2) escalate the war, (3) put the country on a full war footing, and (4) remain in power — with or without an election — as an indispensable wartime leader.

Such may well have been the plot, and it is perhaps too early to write it off as completely unrealistic. Still, with each passing day it seems less and less likely that events will conform to this script. In a tactical shift, Hanoi agreed to talk — not about peace, to be sure, but for the time being the political effect was pretty much the same. But undoubtedly more important is the increasingly obvious fact that Johnson was so thoroughly discredited that even the hawks would find his leader-

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ship a possibly fatal liability. Such is the fruit of four years of unrelieved failure, culminating in the worst defeat the United States has suffered in its entire history.

To say this is of course not to subscribe to the theory of individual responsibility for great historic trends and events. The political directorate of the American ruling class, with very few dissenters, approved and supported the involvement of the United States in Vietnam, beginning some two decades ago and steadily increasing under both Republican and Democratic administrations. The aims and motives were those normal to an imperialist power; the strategy was based on the assumption that the United States, being incomparably richer and better supplied with arms, could impose its will on the Vietnamese people. Lyndon B. Johnson just had the bad luck to be in charge of the enterprise when this assumption was finally proved false. If John F. Kennedy had lived and been re-elected in 1964, the failure and ignominy would no doubt have been his: an assassin's bullet preserved for him a brighter niche in the annals of American history.

Is Peace in Sight?

Does the fall of Johnson portend an early peace in Vietnam? Many people, perhaps especially on the Left, seem to assume that it does. The reasoning is that the United States has been defeated on the battlefield, that this fact is now all but universally recognized and admitted, and that the American government — under Johnson or whoever succeeds him — now has no alternative to pulling out of Vietnam while saving as much face as possible. The matter was stated very bluntly by the *Wall Street Journal* in an editorial entitled "The Logic of the Battlefield" (February 23, 1968):

> We think the American people should be getting ready to accept, if they haven't already, the prospect that the whole Vietnam effort may be doomed; it may be falling apart beneath our feet. . . .
>
> Hanoi is believed to have relatively large numbers of troops still uncommitted in North Vietnam. The Communists appear to be getting ample supplies of weapons from the Soviet Union and Red China. As long as the arms keep coming and there are Vietnamese Communists to use them, you would suppose that they could keep up the struggle more or less indefinitely. Thus far, at

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least, they are showing with a vengeance their ability to sow destruction and demoralization everywhere.

Meantime, the present South Vietnamese government, never very impressive, looks worse and worse. Most important, the government can't protect the people even in the heart of the cities. . . . This is a government and a nation in chaos; how long can it go on?

The U.S. went in to keep South Vietnam out of Communist hands. But no matter what our forces do, they can't seem to do that. If practically nothing is to be left of government or nation, what is there to be saved for what?

The U.S. also went in to demonstrate to Communist China that it couldn't get away with this kind of indirect aggression and that it hadn't better try direct aggression either. But the Communists are getting away with it; they are putting the mighty U.S. through a wringer, and they may be encouraged to try more of it . . .

Conceivably all this is wrong; conceivably the Communists are on the brink of defeat and genuine peace talks are about to begin. It doesn't look that way, and as long as it doesn't everyone had better be prepared for the bitter taste of defeat beyond America's power to prevent.

Perhaps even more striking is a strong editorial statement by *Business Week*, a McGraw-Hill publication which until recently was a complacently uncritical supporter of United States policies in Southeast Asia. The editorial, entitled "A New Policy for Vietnam" and published before Johnson's speech (in the issue dated March 31), reads in part:

In taking these steps [refusal to send 206,000 additional troops to Vietnam and relieving Westmoreland of his command there], the President seems to be facing up to the fact that the long process of escalation has failed to break the strength of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese — and that there is scant reason to hope that the tide could be turned by sending even the full 206,000 troops Westmoreland called for. This is a war in which the U.S. has consistently underestimated the enemy's strength and determination. A decisive military victory cannot be achieved with anything less than a massive new buildup of troops and arms in South Vietnam and an invasion of North Vietnam.

Certainly there is a sizable group of Americans who feel that these would be the right steps to take. But they are far from being a majority of the American people. The people of this country are badly divided on Vietnam, and it would be extremely difficult for the President of a democracy to lead his nation into

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what could become a major war without far stronger support for such a war than now exists.

The President has struggled to find a middle position between the hawks and the doves, but it is difficult for the nation to see where this is getting us and it is easy to see what it is costing.

Tying down a large part of this country's military force for years in a contest with an elusive guerrilla army and a minor Asian power, backed by the two major Communist powers, may endanger rather than strengthen the security of the U.S. Our inability to respond effectively even to provocation by North Korea illustrates this danger.

Here at home, the mounting cost of the war in lives and money is dividing and embittering the nation, exacerbating political and social conflicts, and diverting resources needed for the critical task of rebuilding American cities and other urgent programs. The attempt by the U.S. to avoid these effects — that is, to fight a war without paying for it — has already brought on domestic inflation and a crisis in the world monetary system.

Indeed, there is virtually nobody in this country who would not breathe a sigh of relief if this cruel, costly war could just be brought to a quick end.

Logically, one would expect this to be a prelude to a recommendation that the United States withdraw from Vietnam. If a given level of military involvement is both failing and at the same time endangering the country's "security" — that is, its power to intervene — elsewhere, then surely the only rational course is to liquidate the military involvement. Reducing the level would not help: it would only set the stage for worse defeats. And increasing the level would compound the weakness in other theaters, without providing any assurances of local success. Add to these military considerations the unfavorable economic and social implications of continuing the war — both domestically and internationally — and you have what seems like an irrefutable case for getting out of Vietnam.

And yet this is not at all *Business Week's* conclusion. To be sure, it advocates negotiations with North Vietnam and the Vietcong; but it qualifies this by saying that "if in the course of negotiations, it became plain that the Vietcong was merely proposing to negotiate a U.S. and South Vietnamese surrender, the U.S. and its ally would be compelled to continue the war — until the Communists recognize that they are faced with a bloody stalemate, and have no hope of a military vic-

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tory." Since "surrender," which obviously means withdrawal of United States forces with its inevitable corollary in the liquidation of the puppet Saigon regime, is ruled out, one wonders what the negotiations are supposed to be about. There is in fact no stalemate: the "Communists" are clearly winning. Does anyone imagine that they are now going to negotiate themselves out of the fruits of their hard-won military victories? *Business Week* and the interests for which it speaks are hardly that naive. The real meaning of the editorial in question must therefore be sought in the final paragraph which states:

> If the U.S. government proves not only to other countries, but to the American people, that it is willing to do everything it honorably can for peace — "to walk that last mile," as the President says — it will command the support of the nation. And if every honest effort we make for peace fails, then the U.S. people must be prepared to back their government in renewed efforts to achieve, by military force, a settlement the U.S. can accept.

If we recall that only a few paragraphs earlier the *Business Week* editors had given it as their opinion that a "decisive military victory cannot be achieved with anything less than a massive new buildup of troops and arms in South Vietnam and an invasion of North Vietnam," then we must recognize that in reality it is precisely this course which they are advocating. Negotiations are thought of solely as a device for convincing the American people that there is no other "honorable" way.

We thus have the following paradox: While fully realizing the enormous costs and dangers of continuing the war, the editors of *Business Week* — and this also goes for practically all the establishment doves, including Kennedy and McCarthy — are not willing to advocate what they must know to be the only possible way of ending the war. We shall perhaps be told that we should not take this paradox too seriously — that anyone entering negotiations has to talk tough — that when it gets right down to the nitty gritty the relation of forces on the battlefield will be decisive, and that these relations inexorably dictate a United States withdrawal.

Perhaps it will work out that way. The American ruling class may yet be capable of learning the lesson that its wisest

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pnilosopher, Walter Lippmann, has been trying to teach it for two decades now, that the long-run interests of United States imperialism are not served by attempting to maintain a military presence on the mainland of Asia. If so, the first step would certainly be withdrawal from Vietnam (the question of whether and when to effect further withdrawals, for example from Thailand, would obviously not have to be made now). It must be admitted, however, that up to now at any rate Lippmann's ideas have attracted little support, and it seems likely that this may continue to be the case. Nor is this merely a matter of blindness or stupidity. For the truth is that the paradox referred to above arises not out of a mere transitory pre-negotiations situation but has profound roots in the whole structure of present-day international relations. The United States ruling class has at long last come to recognize the costs and dangers of *continuing* the war in Vietnam; but it is no less conscious of what it fears would be the costs and dangers of *losing* the war in Vietnam, which it now sees as the only possible alternative. In the words of the *Wall Street Journal* editorial from which we quoted above:

> Should such be the upshot, that the U.S. abandons the effort not because it "should" do so but because its purposes have become irrelevant in the light of events on the battlefield and of Vietnamese politics, let no one blink the fact that it will be a disaster. It will be a stunning blow to the U.S. and the West in the larger struggle with international communism. At home it will be a traumatic experience to have lost a war in which thousands of Americans died in vain.

The editors of *Business Week* express essentially the same fears:

> It is one thing to despise the war in Vietnam; but the U.S. is still committed not only there but in other parts of the Pacific, in Western Europe, in the Middle East, in Latin America. Vietnam must not be permitted to become the Achilles heel of a great nation; the U.S. must avoid a cut-and-run retreat from Vietnam that could not only lead quickly to wider disasters and losses abroad, but might result in an extremely dangerous kind of American isolationism.

The implication of such statements, it seems to us, is plain.

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While to continue the war threatens a variety of disasters, to end it by withdrawing from Vietnam threatens the supreme disaster which can befall American imperialism: disintegration of its control over the "free world." More than three years ago Cyrus Sulzberger, the foreign affairs columnist of the *New York Times,* wrote: "The heart of the crisis is not truly in Vietnam. The quintessential problem is how to defeat revolutionary warfare." (March 3, 1965) Getting out of Vietnam now would be tantamount to confessing that this problem cannot be solved, that revolutionary warfare conducted by a completely dedicated people cannot be defeated. And that would be the beginning of the end not only of the American Empire but of the age of empires in general. Is it really credible that the United States ruling class will, by its own deliberate act, precipitate an historic turning point with such fateful implications for its own future? Is it not more likely that it will persist to the bitter end in its search for a way to defeat revolutionary warfare in Vietnam and thus to preserve for a while longer its grip on its threatened empire?

In implying an affirmative answer to this last question we do not mean to suggest that the search for a way to defeat revolutionary warfare in Vietnam can succeed. On the contrary, we believe that it is doomed to failure, that sooner or later the United States will be literally thrown out of Vietnam.* But it does not appear that that time is at hand, or that there would be much relevance to an analysis of the implications of an early peace in Vietnam.

The Meaning of Negotiations

While the politicians talk about peace in Vietnam, what really seems to be in the works is a bigger and more expensive war. In its latest (April) issue, *Fortune* has an article entitled "The New Arithmetic of Defense" which can be taken to reflect

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* There are those who believe that rather than admit a military defeat in Vietnam, the United States would try to retrieve the situation through the use of atomic weapons. They should remember that the Chinese also have atomic weapons and that American military bases on the Asian mainland would be easy targets for atomic elimination. It is easy to talk about using A-bombs, but even the Pentagon's Strangeloves will think many, many times before deciding to do it.

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current thinking among war planners in the Pentagon and Congress. A summary of the article, published in the front of the magazine, begins as follows:

> Hopes for a leveling off in war spending were among the casualties of the Tet offensive in Vietnam. We now have to take seriously the predictions that the U.S. buildup will go as high as 750,000 servicemen in Vietnam. At that level the war would cost an additional $9 billion a year (beyond the $24 billion a year it was costing at the end of 1967). A lot of that increase would go for personnel, helicopters, and ground ammunition, which the U.S. forces are now shooting up at the rate of $12,000 per year per enemy soldier in South Vietnam.

All of this, as Johnson's March 31st speech was at pains to emphasize, is supposed to go along with a big increase in the size of the South Vietnamese puppet army and its re-equipment with the latest weapons. And the entire package will undoubtedly be marketed in the United States as necessary to the building up of a position of strength from which to negotiate.

Here we can see with crystal clarity how "negotiations," which is supposed to be a peace policy, turns into a war policy in the hands of the defenders of the American Empire.* This is a fact which should be well pondered by all sections of the antiwar movement in the United States: to press for negotiations now is actually to help the warmakers. The only genuine antiwar demand is IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

Consequences of a Bigger War

Nearly two years and quite a few escalations ago, the Chinese *People's Daily* wrote:

> The 300,000 troops of United States imperialism have been badly mauled by the 31-million Vietnamese people. What can a few additional troops, warships, and aircraft do? To be quite frank, if United States imperialism kept its forces in Europe and Amer-

* It can be argued that Hanoi, by agreeing to enter into talks with the United States, similarly plays into the hands of the warmakers. But from Hanoi's point of view there is another consideration, namely, the political fragility of the Saigon puppet government. By agreeing to talks, it may be possible to hasten the collapse of the Thieu-Ky regime and the disintegration of the Saigon armies; and this obviously has to be a high-priority goal for both Hanoi and the National Liberation Front.

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ica, the Asian people would have no way of wiping them out. Now, as it is so obliging as to deliver its goods to the customers' door, the Asian people cannot but express welcome. The more forces United States imperialism throws into Asia, the more will it be bogged down there and the deeper will be the grave it digs for itself. (Quoted in the *New York Times,* August 31, 1966.)

Since then more than 200,000 additional troops have been delivered, mauled, and bogged down, with the result that the United States is militarily weaker not only in Vietnam but everywhere else as well. Another quarter of a million will merely accelerate the process. And attempts to draft more men into the Saigon army and to give them the latest weapons will probably end up adding more strength to the NLF than to the puppet regime.

The non-military consequences of a bigger war are no less foreseeable. More military spending will mean at least the following: (1) A bigger budget deficit and more inflation, which in turn will lead to tighter money and pressures to cut back further on social services. (2) Greater disequilibrium in the balance of payments, triggering new international monetary crises. At some stage, possibly in the near future, the present international monetary system based on gold and dollars is likely to collapse and the "free world" to break up into warring currency blocs.

All this adds up to mounting economic chaos both in the United States and throughout the capitalist world. And the result can only be to bring to the surface and exacerbate all the myriad crises and contradictions with which that world is riddled. Inter-imperialist rivalries, revolutionary and national liberation struggles in the Third World, class struggles in both advanced and underdeveloped countries — all will feel the impact of the capitalist world's deepening economic strains. But the greatest effect, at least in the short run, will show itself in an explosive upsurge of that unique and irreconcilable conflict in the heart of the imperialist metropolis itself — the freedom struggle of the oppressed black inner colony.

During the whole summer of 1967 about a hundred American cities experienced varying degrees of racial violence. In the single week following the assassination of Martin Luther

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King Jr. (according to a story in the *New York Times* of April 11), the number was 125. But King's murder not only touched off the national wave of uprisings. It also clarified the issues for many blacks who can no longer believe in a doctrine of nonviolence whose leading advocate has himself fallen victim to the very kind of violence he condemned. The mood of the black masses is certainly becoming more united and more militant; the summer which has begun so early in April must be expected to be by far the longest and hottest yet.

In the final analysis, as we have argued many times in these pages, capitalism has no solution to this conflict. No one ever decided to build ghettos and to crowd them with angry black people; no one decided to deprive these people of education and jobs; no one decided to treat them as subhuman, to oppress them with racist cops, to condemn them to a life of frustration and hopelessness. And by the same token no one can decide to undo these situations or reverse these trends. They are the cumulative consequences of millions of decisions directed to the seemingly unrelated aim of making as much money as possible by responding to the opportunities and penalties of the market — in other words obeying the most fundamental law of the established social order. But while capitalism cannot change its nature and abolish the contradictions and conflicts to which it gives rise, in the past it has shown considerable adaptability and skill in meliorating these conflicts — enacting reforms, buying off dissident leaders or even whole groups, providing enough crumbs from the capitalist table to blunt the edge of dissent and maintain a modicum of law and order.

It is here that United States capitalism has fallen down most glaringly and here that a large share of the blame can justly be charged to the war in Vietnam. There is scope for all sorts of reformist welfare programs which, if carried out with any imagination and determination, could serve to "cool" the militancy of the black masses. But these programs would necessarily cost a lot of public money, and in the present circumstances an increasing proportion of what is available goes to the Pentagon to fight the war in Vietnam and otherwise defend the Empire. Thus at the very time when violence was sweeping the country in the wake of King's assassination, the

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New York Times (April 9) carried a story under the headline: "U.S. Cuts Antipoverty Funds in Northeast Cities." And two days later it added details:

> New York City is threatened with a 65 percent cutback in summer jobs for youths — from 24,000 for which it received federal money last year to 8,400 this summer.
>
> The threatened reduction was made known yesterday in a memorandum by Senator Jacob K. Javits, who said the projected cuts in federal aid elsewhere would drop Chicago summer youth jobs from 20,000 to 9,000; Washington from 7,000 to 2,000, Detroit from 2,750 to 2,000, and Dallas from 1,454 to 600.

With things going the way they are now, such apparent insanities must be expected to multiply. A losing war must be fought, a crumbling dollar must be shored up, the laws of a dying system must be obeyed. And if one by-product is a race war of unprecedented bitterness and destruction, well, that too must be set down as another cost of preserving Western Civilization and the glorious American Way of Life.

The Irrelevance of Capitalist Politics

Peace in Vietnam may have a lot to do with who is elected President of the United States next November, but who is elected President is not likely to have much to do with peace in Vietnam.

They all want peace, of course, and some will promise it more persuasively than others. But they all want the kind of peace which would crown a victory they are farther than ever from winning. And it now looks as if they will continue to believe in the possibility of such a miracle as long as their armed forces are able to maintain themselves in Vietnam. Peace, in other words, will come when those forces have been routed and must withdraw. And when that time comes it will not matter much who sits in the White House or which capitalist party controls the Congress.

In the meanwhile — and it may be a long while — the real issue of power in American capitalism is likely to be concerned less with personalities (McCarthy vs. Kennedy, Nixon vs. Rockefeller, etc.) or parties (Democrats vs. Republicans) and more with the role of the military. Bourgeoisies in trouble

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frequently look for salvation to the military, and frustrated armies frequently seek to install themselves in power.* In the United States today we have a bourgeoisie in trouble — about that there is not likely to be much argument — and a military which is not only frustrated in Vietnam but also being called upon to play an increasingly important role in the domestic life of the country. ("All told," says *Business Week* of April 13th, "an estimated 21,000 federal troops and 45,000 national guardsmen were still deployed in and around the ghettos of the U.S. at midweek, with thousands more ready for action if needed.") As the problems become more acute, the idea of imposing military solutions — as much at home as abroad — is bound to spread.

The forms and consequences of military takeovers have differed in different countries and under different circumstances. Nazism was one form, in which the military was allied with a fascist mass movement; Gaullism was another form in which the masses played virtually no role. Some believe that the experience with the most to teach the United States today was that of Japan in the 1930's when the country was engaged in an ultimately losing war of imperialist conquest and the military seized the levers of power behind a screen of constitutionalism. Our own past history does not offer many obvious clues as to possible or probable developments here, though doubtless careful study seeking answers to the relevant questions will be much more revealing than the standard history books. But in any case we are probably justified in assuming that a drive to impose military solutions on the United States today would find civilians on both sides, and would certainly not have much to do with the traditional divisions and quarrels of American bourgeois politics.

A Japanese friend of ours, a leading authority on urban affairs, came to the United States a few months ago for the first time in several years. Shocked by the extent and speed of the changes he saw all around him, he wrote us a letter containing the following passage:

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* Peter Geismar's article beginning on the next page treats of some aspects of this problem in recent French history.

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I never dreamed of the possibility of King's assassination. His teaching on nonviolence is sweet and acceptable words for American rulers, and I believed he was rather protected by them. Even such a man was assassinated! The fact seems more serious than Kennedy's death and reminds me of the atmosphere in Japan in 1931-1940. The war in Manchuria was stalemated, and right-wing fascists attacked even middle-of-the-road liberals. We must expect a real hot long summer this year. Probably we may see the last stage of American Capitalism.

We would amend this in only one way: we *are* seeing the last stage of American capitalism. It may last a long time, but that fact should not be allowed to give rise to illusions. The only way this stage of capitalism can end is through a socialist revolution. Until then we shall live in a perpetual state of crisis and catastrophe. Any political perspective which denies or ignores this basic truth of our age is doomed to irrelevance.

(April 14, 1968)

THE IDEOLOGY OF DEFEAT AND THE FALL OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

BY PETER GEISMAR

It is an old problem in France as well as in the rest of the world: an army exists to defend the nation, but how is the nation to defend itself from its army? The military, especially in war time, has a great deal of power; it is never easy to balance and control this power within the state. In the 19th century, France strengthened her army in order to expand the empire; in the 20th century, the army turned on the government which

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it held responsible for the loss of the colonies. During the Algerian war, the military revolted against the Fourth Republic; and in 1958, Charles de Gaulle was installed at the head of a Fifth Republic as the army's candidate to lead an enlarged war effort in North Africa.

The collapse of the Fourth Republic occurred because the army had abandoned its traditional role as *la grande muette* (literally, "the big mute") within the nation. The changed attitude of the military and its intrusion into politics were a result of the unsuccessful campaigns in Algeria and in Southeast Asia. After the 1954 defeat in Indo-China, certain of the highest ranking army officers expressed a distaste for the workings of the metropolitan parliamentary regime. General Henri Navarre, Commander-in-Chief at the time of the Dienbienphu catastrophe, maintained that, "Between the political cliques that were so inept at leading the war, and those who took power to conclude an inept peace, there was a parliamentary solidarity which worked, as usual, to put all the blame on the army.*[1]

Toward the end of this war the army developed a theory about decolonization which influenced its subsequent behavior in North Africa and in France itself. Colonel Charles Lacheroy said of the fighting in Indo-China: "No other period was as valuable. . . . We learned to cross out the old formulas we had been given, to discover new ideas and new solutions, and to re-evaluate the most important problems." Lacheroy claimed that after the Second World War, European and American troops had become involved in a new kind of warfare; in Indo-China, in Korea, and in China, Western arms and technology were defeated by poorly equipped native guerrilla bands. The allies in Asia were unaware, according to Lacheroy, that they were in combat with an enemy using the latest tactics of the *guerre révolutionnaire*.[2]

During the Algerian war the concept that the enemy was engaging in a new kind of revolutionary warfare became very important in high military circles. Lacheroy, one of the first experts on the subject, was part of the French General Staff

* Footnotes will be found at the end of the article.

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in Algiers. General Allard, Commander of the Army Corps in Algeria, believed that the French had to revise their military strategy in light of the information coming out on revolutionary warfare, as did the chiefs-of-staff in Paris. After 1955, the military periodicals were filled with commentaries on the *guerre révolutionnaire,* almost all of the articles being based on the same premises about the nature of the recent warfare in Asia and Africa. French strategists believed that the immense atomic power of the Soviet Union and the United States had decreased the chances of a new world war, but they were certain that the East-West struggle would continue. The military writers considered the enemy to be a monolithic Communist bloc of nations extending from Europe to Asia with central headquarters in Moscow. This superpower had a direct interest in all of the nationalist wars in the Third World, and revolutionary warfare was its newest weapon in these struggles. "In the end, the enemy is always the same," one expert wrote. "In the past few years the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of revolutionary warfare has been sufficiently effective to dominate all types of subversive movements whatever their individual ideologies."[3]

The *guerre révolutionnaire* was described as a blend of high pressure propaganda, political and social reform movements, and terrorism for use against the European regimes in Asia and Africa. The revolutionaries would win the allegiance of the people of the underdeveloped areas and turn them against the Western parent nations. The Communists would aid these revolutions because they planned to take over the governments of the newly-independent nations. General Ely, Chief-of-Staff of the French army in 1958, was most explicit about the nature of the Algerian uprising: "Every act [there], every gesture, every event is planned, executed, and exploited by the Soviets as part of the strategy of the permanent war which they lead against the capitalist world." When General Allard gave a report on the military situation in North Africa to the Supreme Allied Command in Europe, he illustrated the same theme with a map on which a red arrow snaked out of Russia, through Asia, into Egypt, and came to rest with its point touching the French city of Algiers.[4]

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Conditioned to functioning in the cold war, the military thus found it convenient to conceive of decolonization as a Communist plot radiating out of Moscow. The theorists of the *guerre révolutionnaire* made it clear that French security at home demanded the defeat of the movement against French sovereignty across the Mediterranean. Commandant Jacques Hogard carried the argument even further: he maintained that the revolutionaries who were working in the Third World soon would turn their attention toward Europe. In 1957 Hogard warned: "We only have a short time. Let us hope that it will be put to good use in revealing the peril and allowing us to organize our defenses."[5]

What we in the United States have come to know as the "domino theory" of international relations was also elaborated by French army officers fighting the Algerian nationalists. Whereas the United States military, and even the State Department, picture China as toppling the first domino, ten years ago the French had to assign this delicate task to the Russians. For the French, the Algerian uprising was a domino tumbling over close to home; the rebellion threatened the survival of the parent nation itself. The *guerre révolutionnaire* was seen as a major aggression in North Africa that necessitated a change in traditional military thinking. Since the French had been hit with a two-pronged political and military offensive, Commandant Hogard advised that they should respond with the "same kind of activity"—that is, the French military should have a political mission in North Africa, while across the Mediterranean the government should be reorganized to allow the army a greater freedom in matters pertaining to the war.[6]

The same refrain had been repeated many times before. As early as 1954, General Lionel Chassin had announced: "It is time that our army ceases to be *la grande muette*. If we wish to survive in the free world we must now adopt certain of the enemy's tactics. One of these tactics, and certainly the most important one, is the assignment of a definite political mission to the army."[7] To defeat the revolution, the army had to become politicized and the government had to become militarized.

Of more immediate concern, the army had to be on guard against another "stab in the back" by the French parliament;

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the officers would not accept a repeat performance of what General Henri Navarre had described as political treachery leading to the defeat in Indo-China. In 1958, when it appeared as though a new Premier in Paris would consider a de-escalation of the war in Algeria, the theorists of the *guerre révolutionnaire* assumed the leadership of a military revolt against the Republic.

There had been increasing hostility between the army and the government through the spring of 1958. Unable to secure a victory in North Africa, the military had begun to shift its attention to a new campaign within France. When the Parliamentary Deputy René Pleven traveled to Algiers to sound out the Command as to the various possibilities for ending the four years of unsuccessful fighting there, he received a severe lecture. "We told Pleven," General Jouhaud later recounted, "that he envisaged something that was difficult for us to accept—peace negotiations with the enemy."[8]

In May, when Pierre Pflimlin became the new Premier, General Raoul Salan, Commander-in-Chief in Algiers, wired the Chief-of-Staff of the army in Paris making reference to the earlier talk with Pleven. Salan was disturbed that the new Premier, like Pleven, had considered the possibility of opening a dialogue with the Moslem *Front de Libération National*, and Salan stated: "The French army in its entirety would consider it an outrage to abandon this national patrimony. Its reaction would be one of despair. I request that you call our distress to the attention of the President of the Republic. Only a government dedicated to keeping our flag in Algeria can alleviate it."[9]

Since neither Salan nor his colleagues in the Algiers Command believed that Pflimlin's cabinet was dedicated to keeping the flag in Algeria, they decided to use the army to reform the government. Colonel Thomazo, serving under Salan, explained that the military was entering politics "in the sole hope of saving the territory of Algeria for the Republic. . . . The Soviet-Asiatic power, with all its resources, moving into Algeria in the guise of an independent FLN, threatened France, Mediterranean Europe, and in fact, all of Europe. We felt that we had to act."[10]

When parliament continued to support Pflimlin, General

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Salan prepared for troop maneuvers against the Republic. Corsica was occupied as a staging area for a paratroop drop on Paris. Conditions were reminiscent of Spain in 1936: the army, coming from North Africa, was destroying the Republic to "save" it from Communism. But in France there was no Franco—only de Gaulle. Civil war was avoided in France by the second coming of Charles de Gaulle, who agreed to set up his own regime once he had been granted extraordinary powers by an intimidated parliament. The new leader was reluctantly accepted by the Command in Algiers: his views on the war were unknown, but at least he had the title "General" in front of his name.

Allowing de Gaulle to come to power was one of the great miscalculations of the theorists of the *guerre révolutionnaire*. Rather than dwell on the other inaccuracies of the army's concept of decolonization, it is important to try to find some of the reasons for the officers' need for a new ideology after the Second World War. And here it is necessary to speculate and extrapolate from what has gone before; for few are the military figures in history who have engaged in self-analysis and criticism of the theory associated with unsuccessful campaigns.

The theory of the *guerre révolutionnaire* can be regarded both as an explanation offered for a defeat and as an announcement of a new campaign to redeem the army's honor. Of course, defeat for the French was no new experience: twice in the last century German troops had occupied their countryside. But both times, in 1870 and in 1940, the French army was crushed by a force vastly superior in numbers, training, and armaments. Taking into account Bismarck's and Hitler's ruthless strategies and brute strength, it was quite natural, even according to later French military writers, that the Germans should have won these wars. French defeats at the hands of small bands of irregulars in Vietnam and Algeria were another matter altogether. French army officers found it difficult to comprehend that they were outmaneuvered by General Giap's forces at Dienbienphu; nor could they understand the driving nationalist fervor which sustained the Algerian offensive despite temporary French successes in pacification.

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Colonel Lacheroy, Commandant Hogard, and the other officers who were perplexed by the disintegration of the empire searched for a "Great Power" that might be subverting the war effort in Indo-China and North Africa. Even then, the theorists could not admit to the martial superiority of a Communist Great Power. It was the French government that had lost—not the army. Two years after the Vietminh had captured Dienbienphu, General Henri Navarre described the incident as a parliamentary sellout rather than a military debacle.

Unable to destroy the dedication of the nationalist movements in the old colonies, and not willing to recognize the potency of sustained guerrilla warfare, the army preferred to shift its attention from the Third World to the metropolitan territory. In 1958, the Battle of Paris took precedence over the Battle of Algiers. The Fourth Republic collapsed because, for a time, the army was more effective in Europe than it had been in North Africa.

What developed out of the Vietnamese and Algerian wars was really an ideology of defeat. And if some of the writings of the French army officers appear familiar and old-fashioned to the reader, it is because he is living in a society which has adopted this ideology as its own in both the military and civilian realms. The executive branch of the United States, and a part of the Congress, consider wars of national liberation in the Third World to be detrimental to United States security. The United States army is unsuccessful in Southeast Asia, we are told, not because of the Vietnamese but rather due to the Asiatic Great Power—China—which has, by mysterious means, taken over the enemy's war effort.

A great question remains: Will the American army search for a more favorable terrain of battle within the United States itself? Will the generals, dismayed over the failures of pacification, turn their attention from the Battle of Saigon to the Battle of Washington? Can the American army accept its first significant defeat at the hands of a small Third World nation? Or will the military turn on the American Republic, making the theory of the *guerre révolutionnaire* a precedent for even more ominous developments in the future?

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French experience suggests that these are questions which will come increasingly to the fore as the extent of United States defeats in Vietnam becomes more and more evident.

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9 Text of the telegram in R. Trinquier, *Le Coup d'état du 13 mai* (Paris: Éditions de l'Ésprit Nouveau, 1962), annexes.

10 Thomazo's own testimony, *Le Procès du général Raoul Salan* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1961), p. 329.

Why Indeed?

In South Vietnam itself, it's worth noting in passing, anti-Americanism is growing by leaps and bounds. The *National Observer,* for one U.S. publication, reports a host of instances, stemming in part from a feeling that the Americans are taking over everything. In a savagely ironical comment, a member of the Vietnamese House of Representatives remarks, "Why should Vietnamese boys be sent to die for the Americans?"

—The Wall Street Journal, January 3, 1968

General Ky is naturally willing to fight to the last American soldier and the last American dollar. It is about time that Americans should make their own decisions and stop blabbing about "commitments" and saying "it is up to Hanoi."

—Rear Admiral Arnold E. True

The world is weary of statesmen whom democracy has degraded into politicians.

—Disraeli

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THE PRICE OF UTOPIA

BY ALEXANDER L. CROSBY

Life in Quakertown, Pennsylvania, is pretty good. The librarian brings books directly to our house on her way home; the rural mail carrier delivers the *New York Times* at 8:45 on the day of issue; our two Peugeots are maintained in fine condition for too little money at Schultz's Garage; suet for the birds is free at Knauss's Market; sunflower seed is only 12½¢ a pound at Clover Leaf Mill, and a variety of human food may be had at the A&P, where checks are cheerfully cashed. The Bucks County Bank and Trust Company is pleased to lend on signature, and an expert tax consultant has more than once spared us from the horror of overpaying. If liquor in the state store cost no more than in New Hampshire, where the price scale is attuned to the state motto, "Live Free or Die," I could sleep in peace.

Up until January 19, I could have. On that day Catherine Vorndran, our attractive librarian, was almost killed when her car skidded on an isolated patch of ice and slammed into a pole. Three other cars went off the road at the same spot the same day. The ice wouldn't have been there if this section of road had been properly paved and ditched years ago, at a cost of a few hundred dollars. As this is written, no repairs have been made, and it will be months before the librarian recovers completely. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is quick to revoke the licenses of reckless drivers but seldom revokes the tenure of reckless public officials.

The accident struck me as typical of what happens all over the United States. We are setting world records for waste and

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mismanagement and ugliness because we kid ourselves that we can't afford to do a proper job. In California, square miles of virgin redwoods are being destroyed while Reagan fiddles and Congress diddles. (Georgia-Pacific says in newspaper advertisements it isn't so, but the word of the Sierra Club is enough for me.) When I travel to New York, I can't shut my eyes to the grimy old railroad station in Trenton, but I can pay $1.50 extra to ride 60 miles in a clean train from Florida. And every river we cross is filthy.

What would it cost to eliminate all of the dirt, destruction, deficiency, and death that could be eliminated? How many trillions would be required for a 10-year campaign to make the United States almost as good as Utopia?

To get a rough estimate, I wrote to 43 private organizations and federal agencies in different fields. The response was prompt, large, and frustrating. Few estimates were made at first because the cost of a complete job had never been calculated. "Impossible to estimate" was a phrase used several times. Most planners had never dreamed of doing all that ought to be done, and one expert cautioned that it would be dangerous to give a realistic figure because the size of it would frighten the public. Several correspondents suggested gentler language in reporting conditions that should be corrected, although none questioned the accuracy of my description.

After more correspondence and a number of telephone conversations, estimates or good guesses were obtained for most fields. A few, notably crime prevention and accident prevention, did indeed prove impossible. There is simply no way to figure what it would cost to prevent a teen-ager from stealing a car and crashing into another while passing on a curve.

In the remaining fields, where the experts abstained, I made my own estimates from available statistics and submitted them for comment or correction. My figures were generally accepted with little or no change. "This appears to be a cogent statement of fact," one research director wrote. "Good luck!" said a federal specialist in education. "Your guess sounds all right to us," replied the information director of a large welfare organization.

The report that follows does not pretend to completeness,

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but it covers most of the important areas and some not so important. Racial conflict is not included. There wouldn't be much if Negroes had decent incomes, schools, houses, parks, and transportation—plus fair treatment from the police and courts. Admittedly the selection shows my own bias; for example, I am strong for conserving wildlife, historic buildings, and writers. But I think the list is sufficiently well rounded to benefit everyone in the United States. For some people, the changes proposed would be the difference between a miserable existence and a useful life; for others, the difference would be life instead of death.

Air Pollution. The economic loss from air pollution is estimated at $11 billion a year. No estimate has been made of the damage to health and life from the increased incidence of respiratory disease and other ailments. The federal government is now spending more than $100 million a year (as against $5 million in 1955) to curb air pollution. A combined public-private outlay of $1.5 billion a year could clean up the air in ten years.

The Arts. Writing, painting, sculpture, and other arts are at last getting some federal support in the United States. The National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities has a budget of $9 million for limited grants and projects. A program large enough to bring about a renaissance would cost some $130 million more.

Birth Control. At least 5 million women in the poverty bracket need government aid for birth control but only 700,000 are receiving it. Government expenditures of $19 million should be increased by a minimum of $81 million a year.

Blindness. There are some 380,000 blind adults in the United States. New cases of blindness totaled 33,050 in 1966, including 4,450 children. Public expenditures for aid to the blind are about $120 million a year. An adequate program to prevent blindness would cost about $30 million a year and could reduce the incidence of blindness by as much as 50 percent.

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Child Welfare. The nation spent $396 million for child welfare services in 1966. Expenditures per child under 21 ranged from a low of 94¢ in Texas to a high of $15.08 in New York. Low pay has helped to keep one-seventh of the 14,800 full-time professional jobs unfilled. One-fourth of the counties have no professional workers. An adequate program would cost $400 million more.

Forests. One-third of the United States is still forested. Although public and industrial forests are generally well managed, much of the wooded land owned by farmers and others is exploited or neglected because the owners cannot afford to hire foresters. The cooperative federal-state-private forestry program of the U.S. Forest Service is designed to fill this need. The current federal-state expenditure is about $124 million and should be doubled to dent the backlog of unfinished work.

Health. The United States is not so healthy as we might think. More than one-fourth of the young whites who were called in the draft in 1966 were rejected for physical reasons. Our rank among the nations of the world for life expectancy is 22nd for men and 10th for women. Fourteen other countries have better infant mortality rates. Yet the nation spends $48 billion annually on health care—an average of $240 per capita. Medical experts say the same amount, or less, could provide adequate care for everyone if health services were intelligently organized and such wasteful patterns as the solo practice of medicine were discarded.

Highways. The abundance of superhighways suggests—wrongly—that the nation will soon have all the good roads it needs. Actually, tens of thousands of miles of the old U.S. and state highways, plus countless miles of municipal roads, require improving or paving. A 10-year program to accomplish this would cost about $17.4 billion a year.

Historic Buildings. An incomplete inventory by the Historic American Buildings Survey in the 1930's listed 5,381 architectural landmarks. About one-third of these structures have been destroyed. Half of Washington's 550 historic buildings are gone; in San Francisco, only 23 of 145 structures have

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survived. In 1967 the National Trust for Historic Preservation received only $300,000 in federal aid, and for the next fiscal year the President has asked $450,000. The estimated cost of saving the historic residue is $26 million a year for 10 years.

Hospitals. One out of seven persons will use one of the 7,160 hospitals registered by the American Hospital Association this year. About 35 percent of these hospitals (especially those in major metropolitan areas) need renovation. A 10-year program of modernization would cost about $1 billion a year.

Housing. Twenty-six percent of the nation's 53 million occupied dwellings were dilapidated or lacking one or more plumbing facilities in 1960. Replacing the hopeless dwellings and bringing the others up to par would cost about $12.4 billion a year for a decade.

Hunger. About 10 million persons are suffering from chronic hunger for short periods or for long terms. Relief programs meet roughly one-third of their needs. To provide the rest of the food would cost about $2.5 billion a year.

Indians. The North American Indian is still fighting the encroachment of the white settlers. He is handicapped, generally, by an acute shortage of good schools, decent housing, good roads, medical facilities, and, in the West, water. About 45 percent of the Indians are unemployed. A program to put the 400,000 Indians on a par with the whites would cost about $225 million a year.

Legal Aid. Many innocent persons lose their liberty or property each year because they cannot afford legal aid. Most of the legal aid organizations are short of lawyers and funds, and many smaller cities have no agency. A comprehensive program would cost at least $100 million more than the estimated $50 million now being spent.

Public Libraries. There is no public library service for 20 million persons. Small town libraries give minimal service; of the 133 cities of more than 100,000 population, good service is available in probably no more than 20 percent. In scores of cities, the library is still squeezed into a Carnegie structure built

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half a century ago. Adequate library service for the whole nation, with adequate salaries, would cost about double the $450 million being spent today.

School Libraries. Less than $3 per child is being spent each year for library and audio-visual materials, and no more than 40 percent of the public school children can use an adequate library in charge of a trained librarian. The rest of the students have limited facilities or none. A good program would require about $32 per child (6 percent of total school costs) for library materials and equipment, and at least five times more than the present 30,000 school librarians. The additional cost per year would be a minimum of $2.4 billion.

Local Parks. The standard is 10 acres of city park per 1,000 population, plus 15 acres of regional parks within an hour's drive. The 1965 total of 1.49 million acres met only 48 percent of the need. Acquiring 1.6 million additional acres in the next decade would cost about $1.6 billion a year.

State Parks. The 2,544 parks operated by the states total 5.766 million acres. Close to 300 million visits are tallied each year. To provide for future needs while land is still available, the system should be increased about 50 percent over ten years, at a cost of about $500 million a year.

National Parks. When the system was established in 1916, there were only 356,000 visitors. Currently about 145 million man-, woman-, and child-days are spent in the 27.5 million acres, and most of these windshield tourists are jammed into tent and asphalt slums. Land prices go up 5 to 10 percent a year. At least $270 million a year more should be spent for expansion of the system, and for protection of the natural environment.

Old Age Pensions. The average old age pension for a retired couple in 1966, under the federal social security system, was $1,537. Doubling these benefits would bring incomes close to the poverty level and would cost about $13 billion a year.

Poverty. About one-seventh of the population lives in absolute poverty (family incomes of less than $3,335). Close

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to another sixth lives in deprivation. About 40 percent of all poverty is caused by lack of employment and another 20 percent is due to low wages. President Johnson's declared war on poverty was pressed at the rate of $1.86 billion in 1967. A victory would require, Sargent Shriver has estimated, about $12 billion a year.

Public Assistance. About one person out of every 24 receives public assistance: general relief, old age assistance, or aid to dependent children, the blind, and the disabled. Federal, state, and local programs cost some $4.6 billion a year, and an additional $2.3 billion is now being paid for medical care of needy persons. There is wide variation among the states in the scale of relief payments, most of which are far below basic human needs. To reach the poverty level would cost probably $11 billion more.

Rail Travel. Of the approximately 10,000 railroad passenger cars, 47 percent are less than 20 years old, 45 percent 20 to 40 years old, and 8 percent 40 or more years old. The cars aged 20 or more years could be replaced for about $1 billion over ten years, or $100 million a year. Shabby or worn-out railroad stations could be renovated or replaced in the same period for about $50 million a year.

Redwoods. Of the original 2 million acres of virgin redwoods on the Pacific Coast, commercial logging has leveled more than 1.7 million. To save most of the remainder would cost about $800 million, or $80 million a year for the next decade. The largest redwood national park that has been proposed, by the Sierra Club, would cost about $150 million. The Senate has approved a plan for a 64,000-acre park at $100 million, which would save only 13,000 acres of virgin timber.

Kindergartens. The learning process begins in infancy, and habits are pretty well crystallized at age 6. Research has shown that children with nursery and kindergarten experience learn faster (and more economically) during their school years. Yet only 29.4 percent of the 12.49 million 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds were enrolled in nursery schools and kindergartens in October 1966. A 10-year program to build classrooms for the 8.82 mil-

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lion now excluded would cost about $3 billion a year, and teachers' salaries would raise the annual cost to some $6.5 billion.

Schools. Of the 87,800 public school plants in 1964-1965, 89.9 percent had defects in buildings or in sites or in both. For example, 18.6 percent of the buildings had stairways not properly enclosed to prevent the spread of smoke or flames; 8.2 percent of the plants had outside privies, and 36 percent of the plants had no hot water in lavatories. Of the 1,550,000 classrooms, 308,000 were built before 1920. Overcrowding was general. To replace all of the pre-1920 classrooms and to reduce the maximum class size to 25 pupils in elementary schools and 20 in high schools would require some 590,000 new rooms. At an average of $55,000 a room, the capital outlay over a decade would be $3.25 billion a year.

Teachers. The greatest weakness in education is the shortage of good teachers. Only the dedicated and the mediocre will accept salaries that are in the lower half of family-income levels for the United States. Salaries have crawled upward at an average of 2.7 percent a year since 1953, reaching an average of $6,821 in 1967. By comparison, the Bureau of Labor Statistics budget for a family of four in a metropolitan area was $9,404 in 1967, and in a non-metropolitan area, $8,391. A 50 percent increase in teachers' pay would cost $7.5 billion a year.

Soil Conservation. Nature requires 500 years to build one inch of topsoil. We are still losing inches—even feet—through the action of rain and wind on land that has been overgrazed or foolishly farmed. A program to end most of this waste over a 10-year period would cost around $300 million annually.

Unemployment Insurance. The 4.14 million persons who claimed unemployment insurance in 1966 collected an average of $39.76 a week, about one-third of their normal pay. One-fifth of the claimants exhausted their benefits. To double the scale would cost about $2 billion, and to extend reasonably the period of coverage would cost some $500 million more.

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Water Pollution. Every stream, river, and lake of any size is polluted with sewage, industrial waste, or acid drainage from mining operations. Only 56 percent of the urban population has adequate waste treatment facilities; 22 percent has inadequate facilities, 22 percent none. Industrial pollution is about three times greater than from the urban population, and removal of industrial wastes is costly. One estimate is that removing 85 percent of the biochemical oxygen demand would cost up to $5 billion, but removing 98 percent would boost the cost to $16.8 billion. The full price of a nationwide cleanup has not been calculated, but a modest guess is that $10 billion annually for a decade might suffice.

Wilderness Preservation. The new National Wilderness System is only 20 percent of its potential size. We do not have a national system of scenic and wild rivers, or a national system of scenic trails. To secure these benefits, before the wilderness and the wild rivers are seriously damaged, would cost about $500 million annually over a decade.

Wildlife Sanctuaries. Nature sanctuaries comprise 2.6 percent of the United States, or about 60 million acres, including large areas with little or no commercial value. Many choice species of birds and mammals are threatened by the destruction of their habitat as highways, subdivisions, airports, drainage schemes, and other enterprises are developed. A 50 percent increase in the sanctuaries, with much desirable acreage, would cost around $750 million annually for 10 years.

The grand total of all the foregoing items, about $109 billion a year, contains some overlapping items (notably hunger, poverty, old age pensions, and public assistance) and a number of interacting items. For example, an adequate birth control program would reduce expenditures for kindergartens, schools, child welfare, and public assistance. Better scales for pensions and unemployment compensation would mean less money for public assistance. A vast construction program for schools, housing, highways, and other public works would

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sharply reduce the demand for unemployment compensation and public assistance.

As a reasonable guess, the gross cost of the program would be cut one-third by allowing for overlapping and for the economies resulting from the effect of one program upon others. The adjusted estimate would therefore be $73 billion.

Providing millions of new jobs in construction and in services would add billions to federal and local tax revenues. The family head who is underemployed or unemployed pays a small income tax or none, yet he may require expensive public assistance. When this man goes to work for good pay, he contributes $500 or more to the federal government and claims no public assistance. Similarly, higher salaries for teachers, librarians, and others would increase the tax yield appreciably. There would also be a handsome tax increment from the corporations that manufacture materials and machinery and appliances for housing, schools, hospitals, housing, sewage treatment, highways, and so on.

Allowing for the increased taxes from individuals and corporations, the gross cost would be reduced about one-sixth making the net cost about $55 billion.

The $55 billion a year needed to build a Utopia in the United States is about what this nation will spend in 1969* to annihilate the people of Vietnam.

(The table on the facing page gives a summary of the items discussed in this article and their cost, expressed in days and hours of the war in Vietnam, e.g., the annual expenditure of $1.5 billion which could clear up the air in ten years, amounts to what is spent in 13 days and 15 hours of war.)

*The prevailing estimate of the Vietnam war cost is $30 to $35 billion a year. This is undoubtedly low, and the assumption in this article is that $40 billion is a fair approximation (equal to about $110 million a day, $4.6 million an hour, $76,000 a minute, $1,300 a second). The plan to increase the army from 525,000 to 731,000 would mean an outlay of close to $50 billion, and the next escalation should achieve the $55-billion mark by 1969.

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BALANCE SHEET FOR UTOPIA AND VIETNAM

	ESTIMATED COSTS		
	Dollars *(millions)*	Equivalent Period of Warfare* *Days*	*Hours*
Air Pollution	$ 1,500	13	15
The Arts	130	1	4
Birth Control	81	—	18
Blindness	30	—	6
Child Welfare	400	3	15
Forests	124	1	3
Health	—	—	—
Highways	17,400	158	4
Historic Buildings	26	—	6
Hospitals	1,000	9	2
Housing	12,400	112	18
Hunger	2,500	22	18
Indians	225	2	1
Legal Aid	100	—	22
Public Libraries	450	4	2
School Libraries	2,400	21	20
Local Parks	1,600	14	13
State Parks	500	4	13
National Parks	270	2	11
Old Age Pensions	13,000	118	4
Poverty	12,000	109	2
Public Assistance	11,000	100	—
Rail Travel	150	1	9
Redwoods	80	—	18
Kindergartens	6,500	59	2
Schools	3,250	29	13
Teachers	7,500	68	4
Soil Conservation	300	2	18
Unemployment Insurance	2,500	22	18
Water Pollution	10,000	90	2
Wilderness Preservation	500	4	13
Wildlife Sanctuaries	750	6	20
	$108,666	982	22

* Based upon an estimate of $40 billion a year for the cost of the war in Vietnam.

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ASPECTS OF PROSPERITY

LBJ, in the President's Message, January 17, 1968:

"Americans are prosperous as men have never been in recorded history. Yet, there is in the land a certain restlessness, a questioning. . . ."

The New York Times Magazine, January 7, 1968:

"Along with its dinner parties and lawn parties, the Palm Beach pet set recently attended a fashionable wedding of its own when two well-connected toy poodles were joined in matrimony at the Poodle Boutique. Miss Petite Brabham, the bride, wore a dual-length ivory satin gown, trimmed with Alençon lace, and a long veil of French illusion hanging from a crown of seed pearls. Her nails were tinted turquoise for the occasion. The groom was Muggins Carvey, son of Signature's Silver Pride and Suzette Al'Kahira. He was conservatively attired in a white top hat and black bow tie.

"Among the notable guests—all poodles—were the Smith brothers. Beau Smith wore a sunlight-yellow double-faced wool coat with collar and martingale in jonquil velvet, while his brother Michael appeared in a pink felt coat with fuchsia-colored yarn fringe. Gigi and Mouton Kimberly were also there, Gigi in a pink sequined evening coat with white mink collar, and Mouton in a royal-blue sequined day jacket bowed on back. After the wedding party posed for pictures, everyone retired to the patio for a short reception."—B.R.

The Wall Street Journal, January 18, 1968:

W. Clement Stone, . . . the 65-year-old chairman of Combined Insurance Co., of America likes Havana cigars. When an embargo was placed on Cuban products, he quickly instructed his men to buy all the cigars they could get their hands on. The result: Three warehouses full of cigars. . . .

At Mar-Que Boutique & Fashions in Detroit, the wealthy blow some of their money on diapers. Mrs. Mary Quello, operator of the boutique, says she has a steady demand for $2.50 diapers. They're monogrammed. . . .

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Approach to Albania

Several years ago my wife attended an international peace conference in Vienna called by the Women's International Democratic Federation (an organization of women largely from the socialist-oriented countries). Among delegates from Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Africa, she met one from Albania, who interested her because the woman (a quiet self-possessed upstanding human being) gave a provocative and stimulating report, because Albania was an unknown country to Helen, and because it was out of bounds for United States citizens.

Helen congratulated the Albanian delegate on her speech and asked some questions about conditions in Albania. They talked at length, and Helen was later invited to come at any time as the guest of the Women's Union of Albania and visit the country for a month. They added: "Bring your husband with you if he wishes to come."

Years passed before we could accept the invitation, but early in 1968 we set aside a few weeks to go there on our return from an extended stay in India. The women of Albania outdid themselves in their demonstrations of friendship and hospitality. We were shown all we wanted to see in the limited time at our disposal. We not only got a feel of the cities, countryside, and activities of the citizens, but we established a rapport with some of the cheeriest, sturdiest, most hard-working, and independent people we have ever had the pleasure to meet.

We consider the weeks spent in Albania as among the most significant and enjoyable in the past 15 years of traveling all over the world in socialist and capitalist countries.

Albania's contacts with the outside world are sharply limited to air approaches from Rome, Belgrade, and Budapest. We were flying from Delhi, so chose Rome as the entrance point. An Alitalia plane leaves Rome for Tirana (Albania's capital city) each Tuesday morning and returns to Rome that

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afternoon. The flight takes less than two hours, including one stop on the Italian east coast.

We landed at the Tirana airport, ringed by snow-capped mountains, on a bright morning in February and were met by three Albanian women, one of whom was the member of the Women's Committee Helen had previously contacted in Vienna. One was an assistant who whisked our bags through a customs we never saw, and the third was a professor of English in the University of Tirana who was to be our interpreter during our stay in the country. This woman, who had never been outside of Albania, had an excellent command of English, a complete knowledge of her country, and a fine sense of humor.

We drove from the small but adequate airport into Tirana for nearly an hour over well-paved roads through miles of vineyards and many orchards. The countryside in this part of central Albania is rolling to hilly. In accordance with general agricultural practice in Albania, slopes are planted to vineyards and orchards, mountains to forest trees, leaving bottom land for open cultivation. The orchards along the highway were well laid out and cared for. The vineyards, producing chiefly wine-grapes, were trained along wire trellises. The tens of thousands of posts supporting the trellises were all made of reinforced concrete.

After driving for miles through this fruit land, much of it carefully terraced, we asked our hostesses: "What will you ever do with so many grapes?" "We will eat some of them," was the reply. "We are very fond of fruit and our grapes are of excellent quality. Much of the fruit will be turned into wine, a large portion of which will be exported." Within a few hours we were buying their frozen grapes and unfermented grape juice at moderate prices in the food shops.

Arriving in Tirana, we were driven along broad avenues to a central hotel offering the usual amenities and conveniences, with well furnished and well serviced balconied bedrooms and bathrooms, with automatic elevator service, pleasant sitting and dining rooms. All rooms were ample, immaculate, and well heated. During our stay in Albania we traveled extensively by car. In each city and town we visited there were modern

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hotels, equipped with large restaurants filled at mealtimes. Dining out seems to be a feature of Albanian life.

The head waiter in our Albturist hotel was an Albanian who spoke with a strong American accent. "Where did you pick that up?" we asked. "I lived for 20 years in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where I was a waiter," he said. "Times got bad there. I was unemployed. Now I've come back to my homeland where I can still carry on my craft and where I'll have a comfortable and secure old age."

Tirana was badly damaged during the war years of 1939-1945. Today it is a modern city of 180,000; built around a broad central boulevard with the university at one end, a large square with theatre, opera house, and library at the other end, and government buildings and parks in between. Our hotel was situated along this boulevard.

Radiating out from the city center are shopping streets lined with well stocked stores. Beyond are new housing developments. The buildings are of concrete, steel, and glass, well proportioned and designed, with ample distances between them. In older parts of the city new housing and shopping units are being constructed as rapidly as materials and labor power are available. Everywhere we walked or drove in the city we were impressed with the cleanliness, order, neatness. This was true of the people, the pavements and sidewalks, the public buildings, the living quarters. Seldom have we visited a more attractive, more livable city.

The climate was mild and equable for February. Though fur coats and hats were still worn by some, weather seemed on the brink of spring. In the southern part of the country, near the sea, we saw mimosa, cherry, and pear starting to blossom, and we picked fragrant wood violets.

Albania's Economy

Albania is a country slightly larger than New Jersey, with a population of two million. In the north, east, and south it is mountainous. Elsewhere there are some wide reaches of bottom land, with hills rolling up to the mountains. There are several good harbors on the Adriatic. The country is well watered.

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Much of the bottom land is black and fertile.

Like all good economists, Albanians are using, improving, and conserving natural resources, of which they have a meager supply. Water is being used for transport, irrigation, and electric power. The country has six strategically placed hydroelectric stations which feed electricity into a nationwide grid. The stations are the work of Albanian engineers. Generators come from the socialist countries of East Europe.

Afforestation is on a vast scale. With the use of mainly volunteer labor, hills and mountains are being cleared of scrub growth, terraced where necessary, and planted to forest trees.

Shelter belts and windbreaks interlace the plains. Along the highways fruit, nut, and shade trees are being planted and protected as part of a nationwide program of putting every fertile acre to the best possible use.

Mineral resources are being explored and developed. Copper mines, recently enlarged, are adding copper-wire to the national exports. Albanian economists warn against the export of any raw material that can be fabricated at home and exported as a finished or semi-finished product.

We visited collective and state farms in various parts of the country. As a general rule, where a large estate was available or an extensive piece of marsh land was drained, a state farm was established. Agricultural villages organized collective farms. Private family farms, like private family businesses, have virtually disappeared in Albania. The country has decided to build socialism—private-sector enterprises are discouraged, the public sector emphasized.

After driving for thousands of miles through the Albanian countryside, we came away with an impression of neatness, orderliness, efficiency, and purpose. The fields are well kept. Animals are properly cared for. Science and technology are penetrating the countryside. On every farm there are home-trained economists, agronomists, veterinarians, botanists, biologists.

Transport is being developed and improved. Albania's first railroad, begun in 1948, was laid out by engineers and built largely by volunteer labor. Except for the more remote mountainous regions, good to excellent paved roads connect all

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populated areas and are used by trucks, busses, passenger cars, and bicycles, all imported. As tractors are placed on collective and state farms, stone-based roads are being built on the farms as a protection against the costs and frustrations of "mud-time." Some oxen are still used for transport on the farms together with many horses, mules, and donkeys. Trucks and tractors are multiplying.

Talking to a skillful chauffeur who maneuvered us over dozens of hairpin turns on the mountain roads, I called his attention to the small amount of motor traffic that we encountered on the well-built roads. "By the way," I asked, "how many motor vehicles do you have on your highways?" His answer was a classic: "Just enough for our needs. When we need more we will import more. We keep a large foreign exchange balance in our favor, and we pay cash."

Building Industry

Foreign exchange balances are looked upon by Albanians as a temporary but necessary part of their industrialization program. They import specialized equipment until they can begin to produce it at home. They pay cash, to avoid "interest slavery." Their goal is socialist, their means maximum self-sufficiency.

Each year's plan calls for imported equipment that will enable the Albanian economy to self-supply essential needs. Imported tractors require spare parts. Spare parts are costly in money and time. A large foundry and machine shop, recently opened, is producing spare parts to equip Albania's growing aggregate of tractors. This spare-parts plant was built by Albanians. The necessary machines came from China and were installed with the help of Chinese engineers. Today the plant is operating at near full capacity. Only two Chinese experts remain on the premises to help guide the work, and they will return soon to their homeland.

Albania produces good cotton. Until recently, the cotton was exported and cotton cloth was bought abroad. We saw in Tirana a completely automated textile plant, which spins, weaves, dyes, and finishes high-quality cotton fabrics. We met

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the young Albanian engineers and technicians who were handling the plant. This mill is supplying the home market and beginning to export, successfully, on the world cotton-goods market. The cotton mill was built by Albanians; the automated machines were made in China. Up to the limit of their available balances, Albania paid for the Chinese equipment in cash. The rest was covered by low-interest loans which will soon be liquidated.

Albanians make cloth. They are also converting their cloth into ready-made garments to supply home demand and for sale in European markets. Their garments are well designed and excellently made. Well dressed people on the streets of Tirana and other European cities are glad to have them. Sewing machines are sold in the shops, and many women make their own clothes or buy the cloth and have them tailor-made.

As industrial production expands, a larger part of the needs of the home population can be met by home products, and more finished goods are exported to cover the costs of needed technical facilities.

Albanian planners and administrators have a first priority —supplying the home market with first-class consumer goods, necessaries, conveniences, and perhaps, in the long run, luxuries. The necessaries are already there and priced very low; the conveniences are higher, with the luxuries expensive and as yet largely unavailable.

Consumer goods are supplied mainly through well stocked cooperatives which we visited in cities, towns, and villages. The field of merchandising is part of the public sector.

Economic plans are paying off. All the people we saw in Albania—children, women, and men (in that order) looked well fed, were well dressed and shod against cold, water, and mud. They looked rested, secure, hopeful, cheerful. The people we saw in Tirana were well built, fine specimens of humanity; the men and women dressed according to Western styles (though no miniskirts or beatnik jeans) and the young people and children seemed especially jaunty and self-possessed.

We saw no slums, no shacks, no physical poverty, no unemployment, no beggars. Albania has a wages system of pay-

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ment according to work done, with a minimum spread between top and bottom income levels. The Albanians seemed sure of themselves and of their ability to shape their own economic future.

Albanian economy is based on the principles of maximum self-sufficiency and minimum overhead costs. They pay as they go, avoid debt, maintain solvency. They put into the economy at least as much as they expect to take out. They plan carefully, avoid speculation and other forms of adventurism. They are building solidly and fundamentally for a better future.

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CORRESPONDENCE

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE USSR

As a belated footnote to the November 1967 issue of MONTHLY REVIEW, *50 Years of Soviet Power,* may I call attention to a recent publication by the United Nations, *Incomes in Post-War Europe: A Study of Policies, Growth and Distribution* (Geneva, 1967). This is Part 2 of the *Economic Survey of Europe in 1965,* prepared by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe. The period covered is 1950 to 1965. The study is divided into two sections: "Incomes in Western Europe," and "Incomes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." It reports and analyzes most of the basic economic statistics of the countries involved, West and East, insofar as they bear on incomes and income policy.

Except as specifically indicated the items quoted below relate exclusively to the USSR.

Changes in Output, 1950-1965

	Index: 1950=100	*Annual cumulative rate of growth*
Producers' goods	514	11.5
Consumers' goods	360	8.9
Agriculture*	173	3.7

* 1963-65 average compared to 1950-1952 average.

Source: Table 7.1

Consumer Price Indices: 1950, 1955, and 1965 (1955 = 100)

	1950	*1955*	*1965*
Total	134.8	100.00	101.5
Food	144.0	100.00	107.8
Non-food	123.1	100.00	94.0

Source: Table 7.15

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Real Wages and Income

	Percent increase 1951-1965
(1) *Real Wages and Incomes*	
Real wage of wage-earners per wage-earner	83
Real incomes of peasants per working peasant	167

Source: Table 7.8

(2) *Average Cumulative Rates of Change, 1951-1965*	
Real wage per wage earner	4.3
Real wage per capita	5.1
Real income	5.4

Source: Table 7.16

A text comment (chap. 7, p. 48) which relates to Eastern Europe as well as to the USSR:

. . . by far the most important factor in the growth of per capita incomes of wage-earners has been the increase in average real wages per wage-earner. Over the period as a whole, the weight of this factor in the increment in per capita income ranged between some three-fourths in Hungary and the Soviet Union and nearly 100 percent in Bulgaria.

Spread in Monthly Earnings, 1950-1964
(Manual workers' earnings=100)

	1950	*1955*	*1960*	*1964*
Manual workers	100	100	100	100
Engineering and technical personnel*	175	165	151	144
Administrative and clerical personnel**	93	88	80	84

* Includes "all personnel having a functional influence on the technical management and supervision of the production process, e.g. directors of enterprises, engineers, technicians, economists . . . and also the foremen. . . ."

** Includes "all administration staff in departments dealing with finances, accounting and purely clerical work."

Source: Table 8.18 and footnote 70 on p. 33, chap. 8.

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Social Income

Statement in the concluding chapter relating to Eastern Europe as well as the USSR: "On the whole there has been a tendency for the collectively distributed part of the total consumption fund to grow more than proportionately. . . ." (chap. 11, p. 2)

Change in Emphasis in Income Distribution

Statement relating to the Eastern European countries as well as to the USSR:

> In the early phase of accelerated investment, the privileged position of workers in the productive sectors of the economy was particularly manifest, and at the same time special premia were attached to the intensity of labour input of individual workers. During that period, collective consumption concentrated typically on improving those aspects of general welfare which were most relevant to productive effort, such as education and health. The relaxation of the investment drive brought about significant changes of emphasis, if not of the basic principles of distribution. Tendencies appeared in the direction of narrowing the income gap between the productive and non-production sphere and, in general, of improving the absolute and the relative position of those groups of the population not contributing directly to production, such as old-age pensioners. Reforms of the wage system tended to moderate the importance of quantity of output produced, and put increased stress on quality and cost reduction.
>
> This development has been a continuous and, it seems, irreversible process. That is to say, there are no signs that the recent stress laid on investment might bring back the features of income distribution typical of the early investment phase. The reasons are easy to ascertain. In the first instance, the new investment phase began in conditions of much higher levels of economic development and income. Secondly, its intensity has been smaller than, and its main direction different from, the early effort. Particularly during the last years of the period under study, the main emphasis was placed on the rational and efficient use of resources rather than on the sheer volume of inputs. And these objectives are at the heart of the reforms of the planning and management system which were launched everywhere towards the end of the period under review. (chap. 7, p. 12)

In conclusion, may I comment—at the risk of being classified as a "blind apologist"—that these figures and the

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trends they indicate are more closely compatible with the conclusions of Maurice Dobb's brief essay (in the MONTHLY REVIEW issued referred to) than with those of the opening comments by the Editors. The answer to "What went wrong?", to quote Staughton Lynd's title question, seems to me less the USSR than some of its critics.

Lincoln Fairley

San Francisco, California
February 20, 1968

Comment. We are glad to publish the data cited by Mr. Fairley. But we must point out that the "opening comments by the Editors" to which he refers are based precisely on the assumption that in conventional economic terms the USSR is advancing rapidly and that this is what accounts for the present relative stability of the system. We were concerned with the entirely different questions of what kind of social relations and human beings this system is creating. It was of course with these questions in mind that Staughton Lynd asked the question: "What Went Wrong?"—The Editors

THE ALTERNATIVE TO STALINISM?

Recently I had occasion to re-read the essay by the editors of MONTHLY REVIEW, "The Lessons of Soviet Experience," in their anniversary issue, *50 Years of Soviet Power* (November, 1967). It struck me then that there was a conclusion that was implied but never explicitly stated. On the assumption that the matter is one of some importance, I would like to request space in which to bring it to the attention of other readers.

First, the authors' major premise: that the present "stratified" Soviet society ("with a deep chasm between the ruling stratum of political bureaucrats and economic managers on the one side and the mass of working people on the other, and an impressive spectrum of income and status differentials on both sides of the chasm") is the result of policies *voluntarily* adopted by the Stalinist leadership. The authors are at great pains to emphasize that "these policies were deliberately decided upon and in no sense a mere reflex of an objective situa-

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tion." To underline the point, they further state: "We *know* that different courses [besides the Stalinist one] were possible in the decisive years after Lenin's death because we know that great struggles and debates racked the Bolshevik Party in that period. Nothing requires us to believe . . . that if the Left or Right Opposition had won out it would necessarily have followed the same course [Stalin] followed. The options were real, and the Soviet Union is what it is today because some were embraced and others rejected."

The authors' minor premise deals with the nature of the Right Opposition to Stalinism. They maintain that the policies advocated by the Right Opposition amounted to a kind of "socialist laissez faire," which, if ever instituted, "would have involved surrender to the kulak-dominated market economy and most likely a relatively rapid restoration of capitalism."

Very well, then, we are ready for the conclusion. Thus far, we have established two points: that there were viable and workable alternatives to Stalinism; and that the alternative proposed by the Right Opposition led in the direction of the restoration of capitalism. Now in theory, there were an infinite number of other alternatives beside that put forward by the Right Opposition. *In practice*, however, there was only one: those who opposed both the pro-capitalist policies of Bukharin and the other Right spokesmen, *as well as* the methods of industrialization urged by Stalin, tended to group themselves behind the banner of the Left Opposition, led by Zinoviev and Trotsky. This result as we say, was "not accidental." To quote Huberman and Sweezy once more: "At any given time the range of possibilities is determined by what has gone before (determinism), but within this range genuine choices are possible (voluntarism)." In this case, the dialectical interaction of determinism and voluntarism in the Soviet Union in the 1920's operated to narrow the realizable alternatives to three: Stalinism, Right Opposition, Left Opposition. Countless other courses were (as utopias always have been) *conceivable*; but only these three were *feasible*.

If one accepts this logic, then the conclusion—which the authors have allowed to remain implicit—follows: the way to

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avoid both the restoration of capitalism (Right Opposition) and the stratified society inherent in Stalinist policies lay in pursuing the course prescribed by the Left Opposition. To be sure, the authors, faced with such a conclusion, draw back: "This is not the occasion," they write, "for a review of the arguments over what policies might have been adopted and their probable consequences." This disavowal notwithstanding, however, all of the authors' own arguments point in one direction only—toward an endorsement of the measures identified with the leadership for the Left Opposition.

Why go into this question at so late a date? The authors themselves (perhaps unwittingly, perhaps not) provide the answer in their concluding paragraph: "Fifty years of Soviet history have many lessons to teach. And of these the greatest and most important . . . is that revolutionary societies can and must choose and that how they choose will unavoidably have fateful consequences for many years and decades to come."

Precisely. If the Left Opposition—and in particular its most articulate and visionary spokesman, Leon Trotsky—managed to devise a program that at once would have steered clear of the Scylla of a capitalist restoration and the Charybdis of a nominally socialist industrialization riven by great social gulfs, then by all means let us have a look at that program today. For as the authors themselves emphasize repeatedly, more is involved here than resurrecting an old and irrelevant historical quarrel or the splitting of metaphysical hairs. Involved is the nature of the societies being constructed in those nations, such as Cuba, newly liberated from the chains of the "free world," the attraction which such societies will exert on those peoples still bound within the confines of that world, the rate at which the imperialist colossus crumbles—indeed, the very fate of mankind itself.

Frank Kofsky

Los Angeles, California

Reply by the Editors

Frank Kofsky is certainly right to conclude that of the three great groupings which were contending for power in the Soviet

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Union during the 1920's—Stalin and his varying tactical alliances, the Right Opposition, and the Left Opposition—we believe that the Left Opposition had the best program and that its victory would have given the USSR the most favorable opportunity to develop toward socialism and proletarian democracy. It does not follow, however, that if the Left Opposition had won out, it would have, or would have been able to, put its program into practice unaltered. If Trotsky had succeeded Lenin as head of the Revolution and the Party, Trotskyism today would be something entirely different from the dogmatic cult it has become. And while it is certainly very worthwhile to study the programmatic writings of the Left Oppositionists of the 1920's, and of course Trotsky's later writing as well, it is harmful nonsense to suppose that they provide keys to the solution of all the problems of the world's socialist countries and parties and movements in the last third of the 20th century.

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A NEW RULING CLASS?

BY JIM MASON

The New Industrial State, by John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1967; $6.95.

A best-selling non-technical book, J. K. Galbraith's *The New Industrial State* aims to explain who runs the American economy and how it works. Galbraith treats economics as political economy, as it should be treated, and is looked down upon for it by his starch-minded academic colleagues who think economics can only be a science if it steers clear of political proclamations. The book's catchy argument will be debated by both professionals and beginning students. Indeed it is readable at both levels, and is being used as a text in the elementary economics survey course of at least one major university. It is an important book.

Galbraith's reputation as a pithy iconoclast had already been established and won him a spokesman's role in the liberal critique of American society. Today, with liberal disenchantment on the upsurge as billions of dollars and thousands of lives pour into Vietnam, Galbraith's effect is to encapsulate the discontent and then to direct it into safer channels. His method is to win the support of the troubled by first destroying archaic, conservative clichés about American capitalism, and then to rebuild capitalism on a seemingly solid foundation.

The first mission is accomplished in this book by a complete attack on the neoclassical theory of the market economy. Clearly, says Galbraith, our economy is no longer one in which the free market regulates economic decisions. Corporations are too big now to depend on such a haphazard mechanism. They create demand, they set prices, and their advertising no longer informs

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Jim Mason is the pen name of a graduate student in Economics at the University of California, Berkeley.

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but coerces. In fact, he says, ours is a planned economy, with planning seated in the three hundred largest corporations controlling most of America's industrial assets. Consumer sovereignty, that quaint notion according to which firms are supposed to make what people tell them to (through market demand) is dead. But this does not mean that people are suffering: corporations can create demand precisely because there is so much abundance that people's wants and needs are quite random and not very pressing. Nor does it matter that corporations run the economy and fix prices, for they are no longer controlled by ruthless tycoons but by nebulous "technostructures," i.e., engineers and planners who make the everyday decisions. Things have gotten too complicated to be controlled by a few powerful men. The stockholders are also irrelevant to corporate planning—another myth disemboweled.

Now Galbraith does not maintain, as many capitalist apologists do, that these "mature" corporations run by their technostructures behave benevolently because they are "soulful," interested in the public welfare *per se*. Indeed, the technostructure makes policy based on its own interests: the analytical tool of the book is always to inquire in a given sphere of investigation, what the interests of this group are. For instance, it is argued that corporations no longer maximize profits, because that is not in the interest of the technostructure. Rather, they maximize growth potential. A corollary to this is that although they are essentially monopolies and control prices, they do not set "monopoly prices," but somewhat lower ones to capture the largest possible market. This sober, pseudo-materialist approach is the heart of Galbraith's technique: never to ascribe a superior or inferior moral sense to his various actors, but to use neutral self-interest alone as the explanation of their behavior. The technostructure Galbraith describes is thus a sort of surrogate for a ruling class, a concept which is foreign to most liberals and bourgeois democrats. But what is lacking in this book, which pretends to put forth the new *economic* analysis of American society (the old one presents the tycoons as the ruling class), is the basis of any honest materialist study: facts. Galbraith spins fine yarns about the technostructure and bolsters theory with anecdote. One's acceptance of his thesis must be settled, finally, by a flip of the coin; there is not even a supporting appendix of data to point one in the right direction.

A good Keynesian, Galbraith admits that not everything can be planned by the technostructure, so it falls to the state to patch

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up the rest. There are very few contradictions left (for Galbraith), except some aesthetic ones. These are dealt with, and in this way our faith is recharged. To pull this off is easier than one might expect since the author has only his own straw men to destroy, not having introduced in any significant way the stumbling blocks of the real world. The war against the Vietnamese and black urban rebellions play no role in Galbraith's analysis. (The war, however, certainly exists for him in some capacity, as his recent interesting pamphlet *How to Get Out of Vietnam* shows.) To lay to rest his argument one would need to expose the numerous gross distortions of fact in the book, a job beyond the scope of a short review. An overview of how such a study could proceed may nevertheless be useful.

The Class Struggle

"Class conflict is the nostalgia of the antique revolutionary." (p. 262) In the United States, class struggle does not exist any more because of complete abundance. This has led to a decline of the trade union—with high wages, workers no longer care about "pecuniary compensation" but, instead, learn to "identify" with the corporation. Working has become a pleasure. (Chapter 33) "The notion of employment and unemployment has little meaning in the industrial system. What is involved is a complex fitting of highly diverse qualifications to highly diverse needs." (p. 247) This has all come to pass because strikes are not in the interest of the technostructure—they destroy security, growth potential, and so on. (Didn't they also destroy profits before?) The role of the union is now to assist in planning, to set uniform wages throughout an industry. Otherwise, the union is making its "permanent retreat into the shadows." (Chapter 24)

What are the facts? The workers are *not* submitting to the unions' accepting a passive planning role. In two years, according to the *Wall Street Journal* (August 30, 1967), the percent of mediated contracts rejected by the rank and file has doubled. The number of wildcat strikes is skyrocketing. The airline machinists' strike, the New York transit workers' walkout which paralyzed the city for twelve days, a rash of coalminers' walkouts in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky, a General Electric walkout, one in Westinghouse—these are a few examples from 1966. In 1967, a wildcat by teamsters (steel haulers); an important strike in a company town (Newport News, Virginia) with a company union against the largest shipbuilder in the world; a copper

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strike which has lasted over six months at this writing; and militancy and dissatisfaction with Reuther to the breaking point in the UAW. (Chrysler workers walked out even though Reuther signed a national contract before the strike deadline.) Perhaps Galbraith thinks the American working class is tamed, but the *Wall Street Journal,* reliable recorder of the business pulse, does not. It headlines: "The Young Rebels: Union Locals, Preferring Cash to Fringe Gains, Cause Rift in Labor. Leaders of Auto Union Fear a Rank-and-File Revolt; The Stormiest Year Ever? 'Dictatorships' Assailed, Too." (June 21, 1967) "Profit Riddle: Earnings of Companies Show Renewed Vigor, But Strikes Blur Picture." (October 27, 1967) "Bargaining Blues: Next Year Seems Likely To Produce Even More Labor Strife Than '67." (October 20, 1967) And in 1968 strikes are expected in steel, aerospace, railroads (in 1967 an injunction stopped railroad workers, with a short wildcat nevertheless), coal, shipyards. Wage demands will "very definitely" get top priority. (October 20, 1967) Is this surprising when the Department of Labor reports that a "moderate" standard of living for a family of four can be maintained on $9400 a year, while the average employed American worker makes less than $6000? So much for Galbraith's abundance and the theory that workers are no longer interested in money!

The irrelevance of unemployment in the modern industrial system of which Galbraith speaks is also a myth. The condition of black people especially belies it: their unemployment rate is more than double that of whites, while only half of black workers classified as "employed" by the census statistics have full-time, year-around jobs.* A good reply to Galbraith's contention about the "pleasure of working" is the much-quoted description of brutal conditions in an auto assembly plant chronicled by a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* who worked there for four days. (July 24, 1967) The strike picture also attests to the nonsense of workers' "identification" with the corporation. Moreover, unions of white collar workers, presumably closer to the technostructure than industrial workers, have been growing fast in the last few years, with some militant strikes by teachers, welfare workers, and retail workers.

How does Galbraith deal with the class struggle in the black community? For him, it barely exists. The ghetto is indeed exploita-

* U.S. Census of Population, 1960; *The Negroes in the United States,* Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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tive, he admits, but this is the result of a "planning lacuna." (Chapter 31) It is a vestige of the free-market economy: since the ghetto is not directly under control of the industrial system, it operates on the old scheme of entrepreneurs squeezing out high profits—hence high rents, bad living conditions, high food prices, rotten food, and so on. Indeed, all of "the poor" are beyond the industrial system, but this is merely a little detail which can be wrapped up with a stronger government planning authority. There is no mention of the black rebellions in the cities, in which over one hundred people have already died.

But are black slums really a planning lacuna? Is black unemployment simply a function of popular race prejudice, or is it a deliberate policy of the industrial system to keep profit margins up? If unemployment is only due to organizational problems, and lack of education, as Galbraith suggests, and if corporations are in need of educated workers, why are there not vast schools for the industrial education of the unemployed? Surely, that would be in the interests of the technostructure? At present, we have the Job Corps of Litton, ITT, and other large corporations (which for the most part do not educate workers for industry at all but rather for boot camp), and several feeble attempts of Johnson to keep black youth off the streets by encouraging private industry to open plants in ghetto areas, to hire the "hard-core unemployed." (Even Job Corps centers are closing down now.)

What about the disenchantment with the system in the student anti-war movement? Police have been called onto dozens of campuses to break up protests with billy clubs and tear gas. Galbraith does not mention the anti-war movement, or the use of state power in any way to keep the American people in line. Everyday men are fired from jobs for agitating; cops now attack even middle-class students; injunctions and cops are used to break strikes; the National Guard and paratroopers are called out against black people: for Galbraith, all this does not exist.

The role of the American industrial state in the international class struggle does not exist for Galbraith either. There is no mention in the book of Vietnam or any other manifestation of American imperialism, such as American foreign investment or troops in 75 countries. In fact, Galbraith argues that we can reasonably pursue disarmament as a policy. "The market is not limited as Marx held. Arms expenditures have no unique value for increasing aggregate demand." (p. 338) The reason the technostructure backs a policy of arms stockpiling, according to Galbraith, is not only

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because it creates aggregate demand but also because the highly technical nature of the work involved underwrites the development of technology which is necessary for the survival of the technostructure. It has no interest, apparently, in a defense industry to protect United States investments abroad from national liberation movements, which do not exist in Galbraith's universe. It would be just as reasonable, he argues, to shift the arms industry to an industry developing non-lethal scientific technology: both purposes now served by defense would be equally well served.

Even if Galbraith is confused on the need for arms and imperialism, the corporations are not. *Fortune* magazine (September 15, 1967) points out that by the end of 1967, American corporations would have $60 billion of direct assets in foreign countries and that the value of foreign assets has gone up 250 percent in each of the last two decades. Harry Magdoff's recent article in MONTHLY REVIEW (November, 1966) provides the most succinct picture of direct and indirect American dependence on foreign investment. Galbraith's ignorance of imperialism is perhaps the biggest weakness in his understanding of what makes this country tick.

The State and the Ruling Class

The state, in the world Galbraith sculpts, has certain goals which it pursues for reasons of its own: stability, expansion and growth, education, technical advance, national defense. Just as the technostructure of the corporation "adapts and identifies" itself to and with the goals of the corporation, and thereby comes to form them, so the corporation adapts itself to the autonomous goals of the state, and hence comes to exert some control over them. In this way the corporate planners become state planners, but only in those areas which are of interest to them—areas facilitating the smoother running of corporations. Thus the state comes to perform four main functions for the corporation: (a) regulation of aggregate demand, that is, maintenance of a large public sector; (b) control of wages and prices—so far, this is not in the form of law, but Galbraith insists wage-price control will soon become more strict, since it is in the interests of both the technostructure and the workers; (c) underwriting advanced technology, especially in the arms industry; (d) provision of educated manpower. Beyond this, the technostructure does not meddle in politics. Here lies the difference from the old type of entrepreneurial corporation which, Galbraith admits, did try to take over the state

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à la Marx. The technostructure has some peripheral interest in wider matters to the extent that its own interests appear to be involved. Thus the Cold War, Galbraith argues, was worked up by the technostructure to justify military expenditures—but his solution of diversification into other highly scientific technology has already been offered for that. That American business could entertain a rational fear of Communism, the spreading of which would deprive our foreign investors of their sources of raw materials (Latin America, Asia, Africa) and of their economic control for investment purposes (Western Europe), is not in Galbraith's scenario. Military expenditures are a *deus ex machina*; the Vietnam war must be an accident.

The reason the technostructure has no general interest in politics is because there is supposedly no class conflict. Hence there is no necessity in Galbraith's model for a conscious ruling class—all necessary decisions can be made adequately by the decentralized technostructure. In this way Galbraith has accomplished, through the back door, the separation of politics and economics which he criticizes in other economists. But since in reality there *is* class conflict, and hence the necessity for the corporations to control the politics of the state to protect their assets, there is also a ruling class. And in fact, this ruling class is comprised of the owners and managers of these large corporations whose property and privileges are much greater than those of the technostructure: to them, Galbraith has incongruously relegated the role of rubber-stamping decisions of the technostructure. That this ruling class exists cannot be established here. G. William Domhoff's book (*Who Rules America?*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967) provides some empirical material for such a study.* *A priori* one might observe that it would be a strange historical maneuver for the old tycoons peacefully to relinquish their power to a different class (the technostructure). Even Galbraith notes that Marx's model of class struggle and control of the state did apply more to the tycoon stage of American capitalism; then he proceeds to explain this "peaceful transition." How blessed is America to have nurtured the first pacifist ruling class in history!

International Communism and the Soviet Union

In Galbraith's world, the threat to the American system from

* A review of *Who Rules America?* by Eugene V. Schneider appeared in MONTHLY REVIEW, March 1968.

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national liberation movements and international Communism does not exist since the United States is treated as a self-sufficient, closed economy with no foreign investment. Galbraith would presumably say that the reason we are embroiled in fighting national liberation movements around the world is because these decisions have been made by politicians. Having no interest in these wars, the technostructure has not bothered to influence policy about them. Hence with a reasonable (liberal) administration such involvements would end. (The intellectuals play a role here too, as noted below.) China is mentioned only once in the book, to show that it does not have the strength to attack us, this being China's only threat. Nevertheless, to lay the menace of Communism entirely to rest, Galbraith substitutes the Soviet Union for international Communism, and shows that we have nothing to fear from that source. This is true, but true because the Soviet Union does *not* represent international Communism: its revisionism puts it in the position of undermining national liberation movements, making deals with imperialism, and in general hindering the growth of an international Communist movement. (Incidentally, with the phenomenon of "national Communism" Galbraith has dealt well in his pamphlet on Vietnam, mentioned above. His argument is that in most countries the national aspect is dominant over the Communist, and nationalism is a force with which the United States can well make long-term alliances.)

What is the genesis for Galbraith of the Soviet Union's harmlessness? "Socialism has come to mean government by socialists who have learned that socialism, as anciently understood, is impractical." (Chapter 9) Autonomy, Galbraith says, is needed for corporations in any society, not only under capitalism. Hence the recent reforms in the Soviet Union: they are not a return to the market, as is usually approvingly assumed here, but rather a return of control from the party to the corporation. There is an analogy with our own system: while American apologists mouth the myth that stockholders control corporations (textbook capitalism), so Soviet apologists pretend that the party controls them (textbook socialism). In fact in both cases, according to Galbraith, the corporations are coming to control themselves. The state, in both cases, performs the functions of aggregate planning. There is no need to fear the Soviet Union, then, since it is just another "industrial state." There is validity in these observations—the Soviet Union *is* another industrial state which does not threaten American capitalism—but it is probably more accurate to say that

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the managers have gotten control of the party rather than that the party has abdicated its control for the sake of autonomous corporate planning.

Whatever the true genesis of Soviet revisionism, Galbraith sees it as inevitable in any socialist country. Instead of appealing to the stagnancy of human nature to buttress this argument, as most bourgeois philosophers do, he invokes the driving tendency towards corporate autonomy in all industrial societies. This "tendency" is, of course, no more unchangeable than the "human nature" created by a capitalist society. Indeed the Cultural Revolution in China is combatting both selfish human natures and tendencies towards corporate autonomy, showing that people can learn to serve others and control their factories and farms instead of being controlled by them. But for Galbraith to grasp the possibility of such revolutionary communism would mean his recognizing the transience of capitalism in all its forms, and the moribund social structures which it creates. And this he will not do.

Galbraith's New Ruling Class

What will the future bring? Certainly not revolution, according to Galbraith. "Only the most committed ideologist or the most fervent propagandist can stand firm against the feeling that an increasing number of people regard him [Marx] as obsolete." (p. 391) Technology will become increasingly prominent; blue-collar workers are on the way out; unions are dying. Soon there will be no private business, just the "socialization of the mature corporation." (p. 394) The "industrial state" is able to manage man's needs so well because it serves them abundantly.

There is only one kind of danger: to "liberty," "aesthetics," and certain social values. The technostructure has no necessary interest in these—in fact, it is on the whole opposed to aesthetics since they interfere with efficient planning. However, the technostructure sows the seeds of its own containment: the "educational and scientific estate." To run the technical society, a large corps of highly educated people is needed—they form the new class which will take the "political lead." Today, the intelligentsia is gaining an appreciation of itself as a class, finding its identity, Galbraith says; and it is the intelligentsia that will come as the messiah. It will eventually control politics and create a more rational foreign policy. It will guard aesthetics, liberty, and social decency. Galbraith closes with a call to the intelligentsia to organize. "Nothing in our time is more important." (p. 336)

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The New Industrial State is thus a serenade to the disenchanted liberal, an effort to co-opt him and reassure him that with his good sense our society can be set straight. The analysis claims to show that there is nothing inherently wrong with the system, as Marx contended—it just needs more intelligent leadership, which the liberals can provide. Inflation will be forgotten with the coming of wage-price controls; wars will be a thing of the past when the arms industry undergoes peaceful transition and liberals make foreign policy; the poor and the Negroes will be helped out (paternally) by a state with the relevant authority.

But to think that the intellectuals could emerge as the guardians and leaders of the new society is to commit the same mistake as putting the technostructure in the lead today: neither group wields class power, nor can it. To believe it could is to think politics has no class basis, which again accomplishes the very separation of politics from economics that Galbraith ridicules. In our era, the technostructure and intellectuals will always serve another class. It is the job of radicals today, in our country, to make that the working class!

BRECHT: HIS ART AND POLITICS

BY ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN

Bertolt Brecht: His Life, His Art and His Times, by Frederic Ewen. Citadel Press, New York, 1967; $10.

This is truly an extraordinary book. It accomplishes three difficult and vitally important tasks, any one of which so successfully achieved should be sufficient reason for dancing in the streets.

First and simplest, though itself of great value, this is so far the only critical biography which makes serious use of Brecht's own letters, notes, authenticated conversations, and journals, as well as of material written by his most intimate associates. Profes-

Annette Rubinstein is a literary critic and editor of *Science and Society*.

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sor Ewen has enjoyed full access to the archives of the Berliner Ensemble in East Berlin, founded by Brecht and now headed by his widow and long-time colleague, the great actress Helene Weigel.

Second, far more difficult and of the greatest permanent significance, is the concise, deeply informed, and illuminating history we get of Germany's political-social-cultural climate during Brecht's youth and writing life, and the relation of this background to the development of his own thought and art. This is blocked in with such deceptive ease that it is startling to realize, as the book progresses, how profound an understanding we have gained in so comparatively brief a space.

Finally, we have the central impact of the book in its brilliant and absorbing discussion of Brecht's theater—his theories of dramatic writing and production, his experiments and accomplishments as a director, and above all his plays themselves chronologically considered. The study here also deals at lesser length with Brecht's other writing, relating the poetry, short stories, fragmentary novels, and so forth to the dramatic work which always remained his central concern. (The only important omission is, I think, that of *The Three Penny Novel,* originally published in English as *A Penny for the Poor.*)

Again with apparent if deceptive effortlessness Professor Ewen weaves Brecht's career, the growth of his political understanding, the mounting hysteria of pre-Hitler Germany, the tremendous ferment of contemporary artists' bohemian individualism, avant-garde experimentation, and social consciousness into a richly colored story which includes an exciting account of each major play and many minor ones. These specific interpretations are excellent in themselves and all the more welcome for their refreshing contrast to the tortured presentations of so many leading intellectual critics. Unable to ignore Brecht they are also unable to accept him, and devote themselves to supporting one or another of the postulates—Esslin is unique in simultaneously upholding all three—that Brecht was no Marxist; that if he was, his political beliefs had nothing to do with his plays; and that he would have been a much greater playwright had he not been so much influenced by radical ideas.

It is certainly his political insight added to his wide literary scholarship and intimate knowledge of the theater that enables Professor Ewen to illuminate Brecht's life, art, and times for us instead of blurring and distorting them as so many expert admirers have done. As Harold Clurman, reviewing the book in the *New York Times* of December 10, said:

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What is particularly striking about Frederic Ewen's biography is that it conveys the excitement, the turmoil and triumph of Brecht's career. . . . Ewen's book is a thrilling reminder . . . of how adventurous and inspiring the theatre can be when skilled artistic innovation is combined with social conviction.

The special value of Professor Ewen's approach, as well as his own concern and candor, are perhaps best exemplified by his discussion of two very different topics. The first is his exposition of Brecht's dramatic theory, both in the chapter titled "The Epic Theatre" and in the many explanatory references embodied in the analyses of particular plays throughout the book. This presentation makes it very clear why, despite the tremendous debt owed Brecht by the entire "theater of the absurd" and virtually every experimental new playwright, so few have been able to develop his most significant ideas. Trying to use or even understand the concept of his theater in terms of formal innovation alone is, as William Morris once said of Fabianism, an attempt at the "making of a machine by those who didn't know what they wanted the machine to do." Or, as Brecht himself said after fumbling his way toward his new revolutionary theater: "When I read *Das Kapital* of Marx, I understood my own pieces."

The second topic, of special interest to readers of MONTHLY REVIEW, is Brecht's relation to the Communist world after his decision to settle in the German Democratic Republic in 1949. Professor Ewen's frank, detailed, well judged account of this important controversial question is in itself an invaluable service. Three of the last chapters are devoted to Brecht's continuing polemics on the nature of "realism" for a socialist audience, his response to official criticism or attempted censorship of individual plays, his reactions to the uprisings of 1953, and his continued unequivocal though sharply critical support of the socialist government. Professor Ewen here quotes two short poems Brecht wrote at the time. The first comments sardonically on the wilful bureaucratic blindness and arrogant egocentricity of official reaction, saying:

> After the uprising of the 17th of June
> The secretary of the Writers Union
> Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinallee
> In which one could read that the People
> Had forfeited the confidence of the Government
> Which it could only retrieve
> By a redoubled effort.
> Would it then not really be simpler
> If the Government dissolved the people
> And elected another?

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The second addresses itself, as Ewen points out, to "the jubilant outcries from the Western camp that greeted all the convulsions, discussions and disagreements in East Berlin. He [Brecht] was not ready to join in what they imagined were the imminent obsequies of the German Democratic Republic." He wrote:

> Easy my pretty ones.
> Close upon the Judas kiss for the workers,
> Follows the Judas kiss for the artists.
> The firebug carrying a gasoline can
> Is approaching
> The Academy of Arts with a broad grin. . . .
>
> Even the most straitened foreheads
> Where dwell thoughts of peace
> Are more welcome to the arts than that friend of the arts
> Who is also a friend of the arts of war.

In addition to the 25 pages of notes documenting every direct or indirect quotation and biographical statement, a meticulous index, a definitive list of Brecht's published works in German as well as in English, and a 12-page bibliography of secondary literature, the book offers as an appendix the entire text of Brecht's famous hearing before the Un-American Activities Committee in 1947. Here, truly, is good measure, pressed down and running over, in a work no one interested in contemporary culture can afford to miss.

When you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told it is closed to colored children, and see her begin to distort her personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" however old you are—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.

—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

How can the administration with quivering anger denounce the violence of ghetto Negroes when it has given an example of violence in Asia that shocks the world. The users of naval guns, millions of tons of bombs, and revolting napalm cannot speak to Negroes about violence. Only those who are fighting for peace have the moral authority to lecture on nonviolence.

—Dr. Martin Luther King

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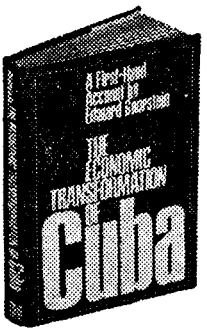
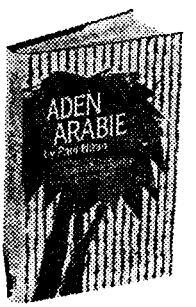


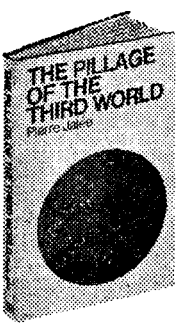
An American economist who worked for 3½ years in top planning agencies of the Cuban government has written a remarkable account of the problems, successes, and failures he witnessed. It is non-technical, dramatic, and nothing like it exists in the entire literature on economic planning. Boorstein's book provides a new fund of information about the Cuban revolution, and is perhaps the first to make the problems of socialist planning clear—even fascinating—to the layman.

Price on publication April 8: $7.95 66s.



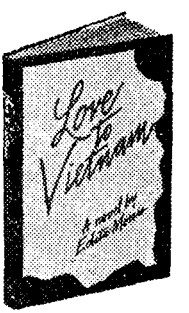
Paul Nizan is widely read and influential among modern French youth. In his introduction to *Aden, Arabie,* first of Nizan's books in English, Sartre says: "Who will speak to these 'angry young men'? Who can shed light on their violence? Nizan is their man." And Henri Peyre writes: "*Aden, Arabie* will hold a lasting place among the books of meditative travel written in our age. It is written in a beautifully terse and gravely elegant prose, and its author's untimely death in World War II deprived France of one who might well have been the equal of Camus."

Price on publication May 7: $6.00 50s.



Despite the ending of old colonial regimes, the Third World continues to be exploited. Imperialism, in M. Jalée's view, is a deeply traced pattern of economic relations which require a social revolution to alter them. Written by a French economist and based upon an exhaustive study of recent data, *Pillage of the Third World* has been hailed as serious and impressive in France. "Painstakingly buttressed with United Nations statistics . . . a gold mine for students and specialists."—*The Kirkus Service.*

Price on publication April 8: $6.00 50s.



Something new in emotional fiction: Edita Morris has written of the love between a young man burned in childhood by the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki and a girl napalm-burned in Vietnam. We meet here people whom Americans must know if they are not to sink into moral insensitivity. "Moving," says *Publishers' Weekly,* "sure to find an audience and admirers." Already published in several European countries, *Love to Vietnam* is by the author of *The Flowers of Hiroshima,* which sold over two million copies in 24 languages.

Price on publication April 30 $5.00 40s.

MR PRESS

116 West 14th Street, New York, New York 10011
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(Continued from inside front cover)

It was our earlier intention to publish in this issue critical articles on the theories of Regis Debray. The length of the materials we have now gathered together, however, exceeds a normal 64-page issue; and we have therefore decided to devote the double summer (July-August) issue to Debray. This will have the added advantage of giving us more time to write up our report on Cuba, which will appear in book form in the autumn.

We were in Cuba from February 16th to March 11th, returning via Madrid, Rome, Paris, and London. In Rome we met with the Italian comrades who are bringing out the new Italian edition of MR and had the exciting experience of speaking to some 600 students who were occupying the Philosophy Faculty at the University of Rome. After we finished we were generously applauded, and our interpreter, apparently surprised, said, "It's the first time they've applauded anyone over 30." We found the London office, under the able management of Frances Kelly, in flourishing condition. The number of subscribers in Britain has quadrupled, and book sales have grown to the point where they now equal 10 percent of sales in the United States. The prospects for continued expansion in London seem good.

For a long time now we have been urged, especially by people teaching university courses in the social sciences, to publish MR Press's most important titles in paperback editions suitable for use as assigned or supplementary course reading. We have now reached the point where we think this will be financially feasible. See pages 60-61 for announcement of the first batch of paperbacks scheduled for publication in June—in plenty of time for use in fall courses. Whether we can continue to publish our books in relatively low-priced paperback editions will of course depend on their adoption in sufficient volume to make the project economically sound. We ask for cooperation of our readers in calling the attention of teachers and students to this new paperback line.

This month's World Events by Scott Nearing reports on a trip by Scott and his wife Helen to Albania. As far as we know the Nearings are the first United States reporters to visit Albania in recent years, which alone would be enough to make their story a scoop. But even more interesting is what they found there. For that, please turn to page 33.

As we noted in this space in the March issue, we now have a regular monthly program entitled "The Month in Review" at 7 p.m. on the last Tuesday of the month over WBAI, the listener-supported radio station in New York. The most recent (March) program was devoted to the gold/dollar crisis, and Harry Magdoff joined us in trying to explain some of the mysteries of the international monetary system. The programs, incidentally, are repeated Wednesday mornings at 11:15 o'clock.

We have been asked to announce that *Kayak*'s 1968 poetry prize of $400 will be awarded for the best poem in English on the life or death of Che Guevara. Entries should be sent to Kayak, 2808 Laguna Street, San Francisco, California 94123. There are no limitations on length, form, or style; but the entries must be typewritten and the author's name and address should be attached separately. Closing date is November 1, 1968, and the judges are John Haines, Thomas McGrath, and W. S. Merwin.

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MR PRESS *announces the launching of*

Modern Reader Paperbacks

with the simultaneous publication of seven new paperback titles on June 25

The new line is being launched with a mailing of 25,000 copies of a Modern Reader Paperback catalogue to college faculty in the social sciences. Faculty members are being offered examination copies so that they may consider adoption of titles in the series for text or supplementary reading in their courses.

Plans call for adding a group of new titles to the Modern Reader Paperback series each spring and fall. MR Press books previously in paperback are being incorporated into the new series. New cover formats will give uniformity and attractive appearance to the entire series.

We urge MR readers to bring this new line to the attention of their local college or bookstore. Paperback catalogues will be mailed on request.

Please turn to pages 60-61 for a listing of the new titles in the MR Paperback series and for a listing of all MR Press books presently available in paperback.

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